/11 cont./

342 114 [847] Exactly the same construction is shown by Salathé for the Karimé (49), Zerries for the Waiká (50), and Koch-Grünberg for

49. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 298-300 and Fig. 1 and 2.

50. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

the Xiriána (Schirianá) on the upper Uraricapará; the latter, however, calls the lean-to type of hut a storm-shelter /Wetterschirm/ (51). This name is not suitable, however, for a

51. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Pl. 43 b and c.

genuine storm-shelter, also called windscreen, touches the ground on one side. In the method of construction described and likewise in Koch-Grünberg's drawings, however, the roof rests on supports everywhere. The circular arrangement of the huts is also mentioned in Koch-Grünberg. In this connection the scholar expresses the opinion that this is only a temporary camp (52), which I am

361 114

52. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Plate 43 a.

now able to confirm with respect to the Surára and Pakidái. On the other hand, Koch-Grünberg, Salathé, and Zerries say nothing about a hut standing in the center. Among the Surára and Pakidái, however, this is never absent. The reason for it, these Indians told me, was to protect the chief sleeping in it from hostile attacks. Moreover, two warriors must always guard the camp at night.

● [622]

361 Along the routes of travel of the Surára and Pakidái in the area between the Demini and Aracá rivers, one finds many such abandoned camps. They are never occupied a second time as overnight quarters, however, although the construction is often

2. Becher--27 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
342
343
361
622

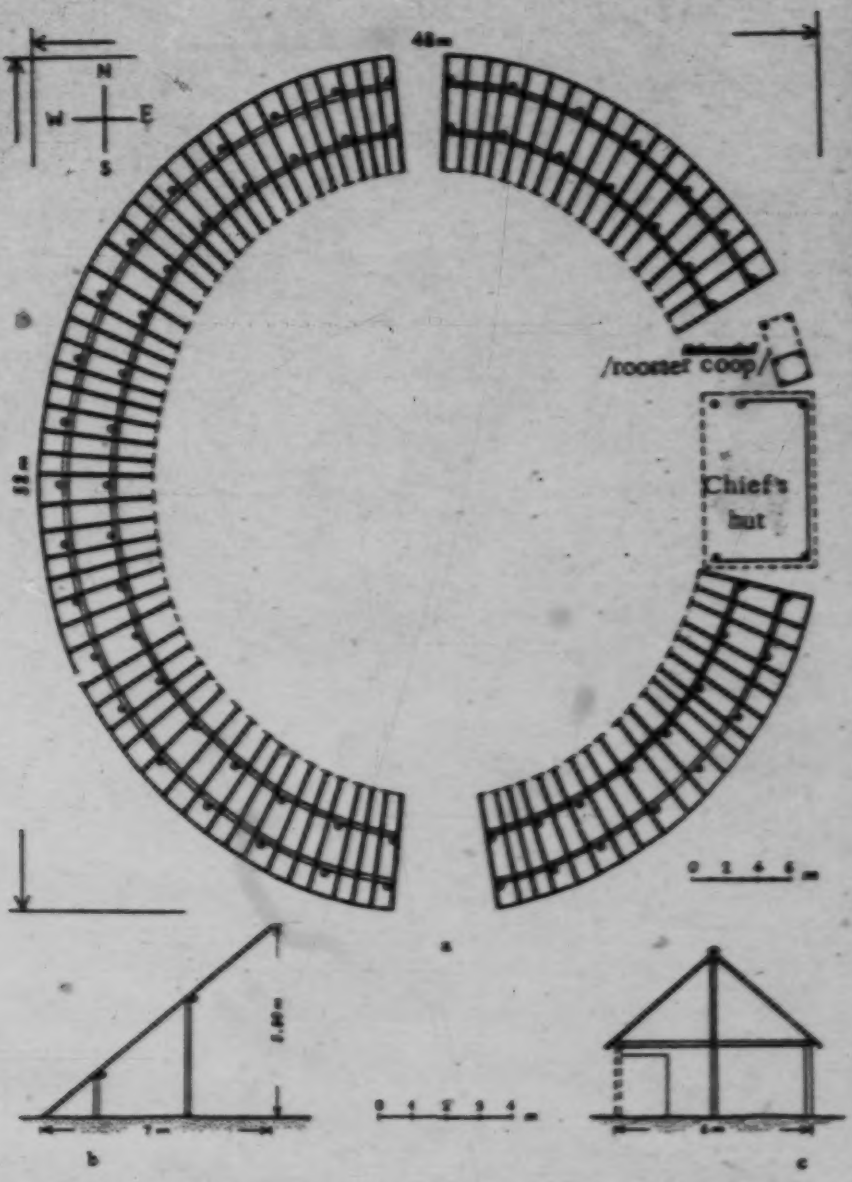

Fig. 1a-c. Ground plan and cross-section of the open maloka with chief's hut.

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the
other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters.
In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife
always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife
and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc.,
231 are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
342 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the
background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at
most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50
centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[194] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or
was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the
past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[191] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem,
similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on
the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[199] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward
the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is
9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the
same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand
four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four
smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174]

241

/15 cont./

342 large posts. On each of the two narrow sides of the three tall middle posts, 11 thin sticks are attached, organ-fashion, between the supported horizontal poles and form the two gable faces.

[824] Here, too, cipó-titica is used exclusively as the lashing material. To the right on the front broad-side and to the left on the rear one there is a small entrance only one meter high and one meter wide. After the framework is completed (Ill. 8), the panos (rectangular mats made out of the leaves of the ubim palm) are again laid over one another on the roof, like shingles, and fastened to the rafters. It is the same technique as has already been described in the construction of the large, open maloka. The upper part of the two gable sides is left open so that light may penetrate into the interior of the house and the smoke be carried off. The walls, too, are completely covered with panos, and in front of the entrances palm-leaf mats that can be drawn back are hung by means of lianas. Inside the house, the center part is left free for holding festivals and dances, while the families, in the same way as in the open maloka, live comparatively close to the wall, one

[822] family beside the other. For the chief and his family a particularly large space is reserved on the side toward the river.

342 The astonishing fact in this form of house is that the ground
19 plan is circular whereas the roof is gable-shaped. Ordinarily for
114 houses with a circular ground-plan, the conical roof is characteristic, as Olga Coudreau (54) and Koch-Grünberg (55) have shown

54. Olga Courdreau, 1903, p. 121.

55. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 18 and Pl. 2 (1a, 1b, 2a, 2b).

for Karaiben /Carib/ tribes. In this case, one or at most two center posts are used. Koch-Grünberg also mentions, to be sure, a construction with three and writes: "If the two center posts are set farther apart or if, instead of two center posts, three or more are used, /16/ the ridge is lengthened and the circular ground-plan gradually becomes an elliptical one" (56).

56. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22 and Pl. 2 (4).

/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

/60/

619 3. Political Structure

These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas.

[185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

• 622 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

624 701 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary; rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the

[622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macusi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

/60 cont./

622 159 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time, like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to occasional communal projects, supervises their activity in the rocas (forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka, and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic performances. If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example, [224] he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes [554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way. He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some of their hunting or gathering spoils.

[342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and children occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of 622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again. 484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection, 159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours 484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe, which travels in single-file formation, always presented the following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4 484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their 482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder. After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him, my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets, which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips. On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors as a rear guard.

Surára
Pakidái

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women [482] carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened, they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief 484 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in • 622 the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the 554 supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected, of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is able to make connections with the hekurá and serras /sierras/ (see PP. 200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of Hewemãо is Kurikayawõ. He will be followed by Inxinemí, who is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemí, who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take over the leadership.

624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomirawõ, a modest, reserved, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidái the succession of chiefs is the same. 624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that 619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief Karakarawõ, because his three younger brothers who could have taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawõ did have a son, Karenauõ, but he was still very young, so that there was nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time being to the war chief Porẽhiwõ as a substitute. At the same time he and the older Pakidái men asked the chief of the friendly Surára, Hewemãо, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses, magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidái attended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, who was given a very thorough training by Hewemãо. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái even lived

Pakidái
Surára

/61 cont./
622 together for several years, both in the sierra during the dry season
619 and at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá during the
624 rainy season. In the long run, however, the war chief Porêhiwõ did not like this, and there were also differences of opinion with the young chief, so he and his brother Kaxiribewõ, with their families temporarily withdrew from the tribe and remained alone in Taraquá, the Pakidái maloka on the middle Demini.

As a result of the youthful exuberance of the not yet fully mature Pakidái chief Karenauõ, the previously good relationship between the Surára and Pakidái was unfortunately slightly disturbed. Yet Karenauõ really had every reason to be grateful to Hewemãõ.

769 The discord began in March 1956 during the great festival
619 in memory of the dead, which the Surára as hosts and the Pakidái
622 as guests always celebrate together, and in which some friendly Pusebeweterf and Xiriána families also took part. During this gathering it is customary for Hewemãõ to be acknowledged as the head by the guests, even by their chiefs, and for his orders to be followed. Young Karenauõ, however, refused to do this. He suddenly felt himself very strong because the member of Pakidái, of course, is considerably larger than that of the Surára. The rivalry between the chiefs increased from day to day and extended even to the members of the two tribes. It was only thanks to the magnanimous, wise attitude of Hewemãõ and the mediation of the chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ, who returned to his tribe and exerted great influence, that greater tensions or even military encounters could be avoided. This was only to be welcomed, for there is a long, traditional friendship between the two tribes, which has deepened consanguineously as a result of intermarriages.

[166] When the festival was over, at the end of March 1956, the Pakidái again moved to /62/ Taraquá on the middle Demini and the Surára to the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. But at this point I was to experience a great surprise. Three Pakidái men, with their families, no longer followed their chief Karenauõ, but joined Hewemãõ and thus actually emigrated to the Surára.

Surara, Pakidai

/62 cont./ The father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

/71 cont./

765 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
787 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
[821] break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[715] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
765 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
[766] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 ff.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

776 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
● [822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

Surára, Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

619 /75 cont./ already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
651 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
576 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon
574 hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178
241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had
622 been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in par-
000 ticular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

Surára
Pakidái

/77 cont./

223 (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) -- maraxí --, jacu (Penelope sp.) -- kuremá --, japim (Cacicus cela L.) -- anhakoramá --, inambu (Crypturellus sp.) -- rororôme --, inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.) -- honamá --, toucan (Rhamphastus sp.) -- mahebé --, arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) arakaké -- arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.) -- maracanã --, papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxeramakó --, papagaio curica (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxerá --, garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm) -- korihená.

[825] [153] The gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- nonexí -- is killed for magical reasons, because it is believed that there is concealed in it a hostile medicine man who brings sickness and [237] other disasters. Its down feathers are glued into the hair by the men as trophies (see p. 95); the meat is discarded. The gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm) -- nonexipéke -- is also killed only for its feathers, which serve the men as upper-arm ornaments.

[825] They never shoot at the urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.) -- uatubá --, for they are glad that they remove the refuse.

224 In conclusion it should be mentioned that traps are unknown to the Surára and Pakidái (353).

353. There is a corresponding statement by Zerries about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[622] If the hunter has killed a small animal, he may keep this booty for himself and his family, but he often gives the chief a roasted or boiled piece of it. A big-game animal, on the other hand, is divided up under the chief's supervision, and each family gets a piece of meat. This communal feeling is very strongly marked, and no member of the tribe would ever violate it.

Suraŕg
Pakidái

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying [361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka [622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarĩ --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carâ, cotton, [462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since [134] the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

24 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond
36 the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several
166 times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka
245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755 [123] I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures, and each rekurá was a new, great experience for me. I was 755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the 756 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and 622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái

[123]

504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waiká had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

[431]

755 756 114 In this context I should like to cite the following very revealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

Surára
Pakidái

769 /103 cont./ Then they sat down in a
535 circle and started singing a song in chorus. Soon afterwards
[533] five warriors, holding arrows in both hands, arose and danced around the singers. Now and then they made huge leaps and shouted in a high, shrill voice. All this was enacted on a cool, cloudy, full-moon night, but the numerous hearths added some light. All the women and girls, as well as my servant Mateus and I, lay in the hammocks and watched the unique spectacle. Toward 1:00 in the morning the male participants in the festival arose and now danced, again one behind the other, around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard. They were arranged in such a way that a man with two arrows was always followed by one who held his hands crossed behind his head.

• [622] [123] Suddenly Chief Hewemãõ, who was sleeping in his hammock next to me, was tapped lightly by a warrior with an arrow. He got up at once, removed shirt and trousers (he had been given the two articles of clothing by me as gifts), took a bow without a bowstring in his hand, had snuff-powder blown into his nose, and mixed with the dancers, who, however, immediately after his entrance formed the following new formation: Ten men arranged themselves in rhombus form at the head of the dance procession, one at the very front, two behind to one side, and two more behind and to one side of these; two stood directly opposite the latter, then followed two who stood somewhat inward and finally one who was in the middle behind these (Fig. 29). The first five warriors, who had blackened themselves with soot, symbolized the nonexí (evil spirits or spirits of sickness, see p. 211) and were obliged to dance backwards. The five dancers following them embodied hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits who /104/ /Fig. 29 appears here/ Pakidái; see pp. 199, 214 ff.). Between these two groups of five, the participants of which each held two arrows in their hands, a sham battle was being carried out during the dance (see also pp. 214 ff.). Each of the men of the first group danced two steps back and one forward, and those of the second, two steps forward and one back. In between, wild leaps and turns were executed, the men threatened each other with the arrows and screamed in the highest key. The "nonexí" were constantly in

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

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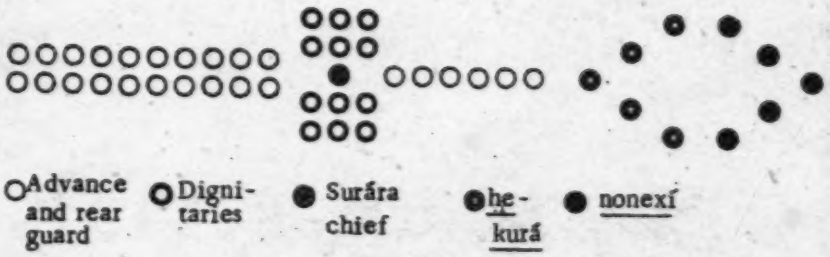

Fig. 29. Arrangement of the dancers on the occasion of a ceremony of the festival in memory of the dead.

retreat and defended themselves with all their might against the advancing "hekurá." Behind these ten "fighting" dancers there followed six men in a row, each with an arrow in his hand, the advance guard of the chief. At a slight distance they were joined by the Surára [622] chief Hewemão, flanked on either side by six men forming a double row. These men were also prominent personalities; thus, among them there were the two younger brothers of the chief, the war chief of the Surára, the chief and war chief of the Pakidái, as well as especially excellent older warriors of both tribes. Following them, as a rear guard, in a double-row formation, came the rest of the men, young men, and boys. All who took part in the procession moved in the customary dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang in chorus. Now and then Chief Hewemão would utter a hissing sound, whereupon all the participants grouped themselves in the center of the plaza around the large clay plate with snuff-powder. Here the chief, in a singing voice, prayed to the hekurá [622] and asked them to intercede with Poré/Perimbó, so that the festival [782] would be vouchsafed a happy and successful course. Then the men [276] blew new snuff-powder into each other's noses, whereupon the dance would continue in the manner described above. This dancing and singing lasted, except for the brief interruptions at the clay plate, until 6:00 in the morning.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with
[147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexí (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After
[262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat-
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká,
114 which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds
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515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

2: Becher--269 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

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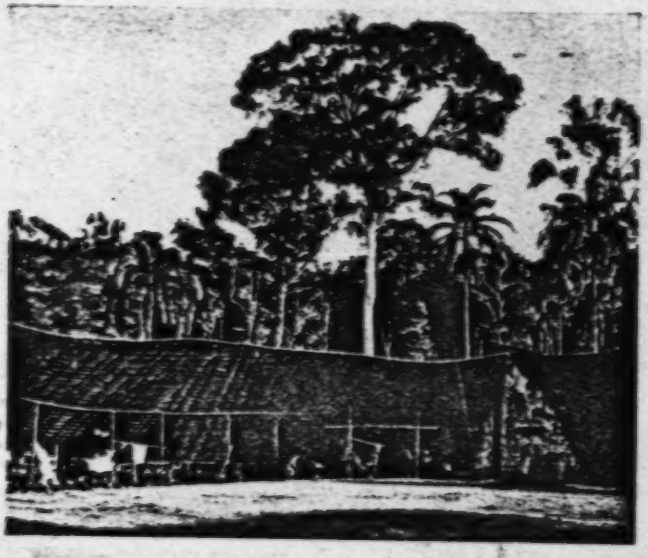

Ill. 6. A section of the large, open Surára maloka

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Ill. 7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára maloka

2- Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

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Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

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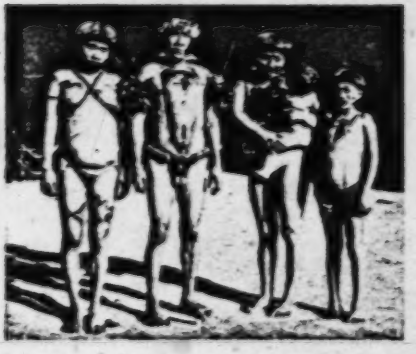
Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

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Ill. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

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Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

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481 ←

114
142
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624 →

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Porêhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateu Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

/213/

197 174 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.

143 174 Finally, it is necessary to point out that, judging from the genetic constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as Tunebo, Barí, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture in South America, from which a number of traits have survived in the more highly developed cultures.

622 [624] [793] Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a military leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally. The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son, about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother, about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a local group do not exist.

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
[841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals; he was the guapo. 1/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 71-An.]

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hăwiewan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*hăilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hăwiewan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Sanumavi)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, erect, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1955, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1956, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1959.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'I am Uarema,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uarema, son of Measi. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized m n] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uagna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracosa lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uarema had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugar-cane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uarema. They inhabited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Merevari river—a little above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Pancho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kirisochi in four days' time.

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [162] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and therefore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups [578] soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

844 /489 cont./
123 They also invited us to do this, but, not knowing the meaning of the practice, we declined to do so.

846 After this, the mother took the little creature and went off to her house. There she rested for two or three days before resuming her work in the "conuco."

844 Later, another child was born at night. We were not there, but we were informed that it had been born in the house, to which green leaves were brought for the birth.

Puberty

881 To reach puberty is an important event, especially for the girls. It is considered that the girl has reached puberty at her first menstruation. Her mother, older sister, or another woman who might be her guardian gathers leaves and builds a wall around her hammock to isolate her from everything. For approximately one week, the girl never leaves this area. Her mother brings her food, water, firewood, and any other things which might be needed.

At the end of this retirement, the girl comes out, adorned with flowers, leaves, cotton belts, strings of beads, and feathers.

Maturity

885 A man is considered mature when he has marriageable chil-
●622 dren. The head of a settlement is frequently a grandfather, but sometimes the settlement may be governed by a somewhat younger man.

Old Age

888 Retirement from active life is somewhat gradual, depending upon the strength of the individual.

Old persons are respected, but they are no longer leaders in the affairs of the settlement. They are cared for even when they are no longer capable of contributing to their own support. /Plates I-V follow./

123 /163 cont./
75 wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the [622] whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatfa-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone
727 about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back
[302] and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimutjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our
783 temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

* 621 The weakness of kinship[1]

* 623 613 Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between

* 602 623 allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related

* 621 • 622 578 kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and headmen can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own

* 621 578 villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly

* [628] threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors likewise weaken political relationships between allied villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out

[411] over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter

[241] case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and

[361] usually the result is that the village splits; one of the factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an independent village. As the histories of selected villages

* 361 621 will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting

* 621 602 and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

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[1] It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

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[1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yąnomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 384 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siuai 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yąnomamö are "tribal."

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the [701] entire group has already decided to undertake. His major function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable [529 574 439] task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often supervises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [527 241] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [578 621 629] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 92 554 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

women. During relatively peaceful times headmen are hardly more than equals among their followers and their ability to command respect and issue orders diminishes accordingly. Political commitments to aid other villages in raiding, however, usually precludes long periods of peace and, should a village fail in such an obligation, its allies quickly turn on it and force it to participate. Thus, political circumstances are continually forcing villages into situations that require leadership.

B. Anthropological Work On the Yąnomamö

So far four anthropological expeditions have had an opportunity to study Yąnomamö groups, but only two of these spent an adequate amount of time in the field to collect data that substantially increase our knowledge of Yąnomamö culture. I refer to the expeditions of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 which brought Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster to the village of Mahekodo-tedi for some 10 months, and the expedition of Hans Becher in 1955-56 to the upper Demini River in Brazil, where he studied two villages for 9 months. The expeditions of Koch-Grünberg in 1911-12 and Johannes Wilbert in 1958 and 1960 made only brief contacts with Yąnomamö.

The results of Koch-Grünberg's contact with two groups of Yąnomamö are summarized in his Vom Rorima zum Orinoco. He met two "hordes" of "Schiriana" in 1911 on the upper Uraricuera (Parima) River of Brazil. One group, whose

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 561 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yąnomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi [595] obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kąobawä 613 of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one 602 591 degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were [622]

[1] See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kąobawë's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwë, 18). Whenever Kąobawë organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Nadesiwë, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kąobawë. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawë, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kąobawë's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kąobawë's nephew, Bäkotawë, 18 years old.

Kąobawë's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kąobawë to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 602 613 561 123 554 591 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I asked Kaobawä what he had done about it. He said he had spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ultimately had to resort to my own means to recover the flashlight, as Kaobawä could not force Shiimima to return it. When I questioned Kaobawä about this ineffectiveness, he explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion

622 613 602 529 594 351 554 591 561 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scraping up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy preparing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing. Kaobawä usually goes to the center of the village and begins cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if Kaobawä requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 613 602 561 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of

593 602 613 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

628 602 613 726 same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore, was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related agnates. Kɨobawä, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, participated in the raiding against the Patanowä-tedi. In one [622] skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwä, but Rakoiwä survived the wound. This man is as closely related to Kɨobawä as most of the men that presently constitute his agnatic following in Upper Bisaasi-tedi, again illustrating the significance of co-residence in determining the strength [583] of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowä-tedi recenlty joined the Bisaasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Patanowä-tedi resumed their old [606] hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited [593] both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowä-tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowä-tedi. One of the young men, Sirorowä, told me that he would have avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwä) and actual brothers, but would have shot more distant agnates.

628 726 602 607 622 That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawä-tedi. These two villages are led by men who are classificatory brothers. The war stated when a man from Boreta-tedi, a brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by the Yabitawä-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

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724 latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding
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607 his classificatory brother's village.
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Similar cases occur in internal village fighting.
621 Hunobawä, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered
578 a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof
593 of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawä, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Hunobawä discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawä with a club. Dikawä got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

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602 Club fights between historically related but separate
578 villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-
613 tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had
583 abducted from the Patanowä-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

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578 Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

128 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
*621 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.
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There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
162 not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex
*621 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
*628 there are males in the village, and the group is politically
562 stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within
583 this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mömariböwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
[529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[504] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
[726] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
● 622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to
602 each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawä, has astutely manipulated

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128 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a
*621 number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity
*628 of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace
613 their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawä-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, Bäkëbowë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

621 622 613 604 736 601 564 183 582 actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Sha and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men. 583 601 183 582 When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

601 183 582 In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

*621 *622 613 602 subordinate his potential competitors by the way in which he disposed of the women and/or their children.

*621 613 602 562 582 583 There are a number of individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi who are not related agnatically to either the Sha or the Tom lineages. These individuals do not, however, constitute a political bloc; each is tied by marriage to the two lineages, and are therefore subordinate (by virtue of obligations to their wife-givers) to the members of that lineage. Most of these individuals are females, and do not represent a political factor in the affairs of the village. Some of them were abducted from Shamatari villages in the past, and a larger number of them were obtained in marriage alliances from other Shamatari recently. The six adult males of this non-agnatic group who might pose a threat to the stability of the village by making liaisons with married women are all married themselves. With the exception of two brothers, they are unrelated to each other. One of them is married to Reromawä's daughter, another is married to his son's daughter, and the two brothers (actual WiBrSo to Reromawä) are married, respectively, to Reromawä's classificatory son's daughter in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and will move there while he does his bride service, and a classificatory brother's daughter.[1] The remaining two men are in Faction B. One of these joined Reromawä's group before 1945 to get revenge against the

[1] This woman is one of the seven abducted by the Monou-tedi from the Patanowä-tedi and taken, in turn, by Reromawä's group from the Monou-tedi. Technically, then, Reromawä is her 'father' and the man to whom she was given is 'son-in-law' to Reromawä. See Chapter V.

*628 722 the Upper Bisaasi-tedi had a large village and two small villages. The two smaller villages were occupied by the two factions of the Upper group; the large village was unoccupied. It was used only when threat of raid existed, during which time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi re-joined their group and all moved into the large village. In 1965 the large village was rebuilt, but for the first time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi did not participate in the reconstruction of the common village. A few individuals who feared raids, however, did build a section in the village for themselves.

Lower Bisaasi-tedi, then, would re-unite with Upper Bisaasi-tedi in time of war, although each group pursues its own political ends and remains independent of the other in times of peace. One of the major reasons this is so can be explained in terms of the dyadic relationships discussed in [128] the last chapter. Figure 3 gives the simplified lineage structure of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Lower Bisaasi-tedi, and *621 Monou-tedi. These three villages were one in 1954; Monou- *628 tedi split from the group to found their own village. In 578 1960 Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Lower Bisaasi-tedi split from each other, but remained geographically close to each other. The reasons given for the splits were that the groups were always fighting over women and, to reduce the frequency of club fighting, they simply parted before hostilities became intense. Even at the present time there is considerably more fighting in the village when the groups coalesce for defense [602] purposes. In terms of the kinship dyads, the problem can be [622]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

reduced to the weakness of the tie between remotely related agnates of the same age, and their rivalry for both women and leadership. The leaders of the three villages are all members of the same lineage.[1] It can be seen in Figure 3 that the headmen of the villages (indicated as 1, 2, and 3) are all agnates, each belonging to a different local segment of the lineage.[2]

As was shown in the last chapter, the ties between distantly related agnates of the same age are probably the most ambiguous and weakest ties in Yąnomamö kinship. The feuds that developed within the large, composite village could not be satisfactorily resolved by the leaders of the village, as each leader's segment had more important and stronger ties with local segments of other lineages, and local segments of the same lineage aligned themselves with their affines in disputes against the factions of their agnates. When the village split, it separated along the weakest lines: agnates that were distantly related dispersed to different villages with the groups to which they were more closely bound, their affines. The same is true of the separation of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi from the Patanowä-tedi. Factions A and B of Lower Bisaasi-tedi, when put into the larger,

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[1] In 1965 the Sha headman of Monou-tedi was killed by the Patanowä-tedi in a raid.

[2] The Sha lineage is shown on the left half of the diagram; it extends to Patanowä-tedi, as does the Hor lineage shown on the right side. Patanowä-tedi's composition is simply an enlarged version of any of the other villages shown in the diagram, and its headmen come from the Sha and Hor lineages.

174 *628 729 32 24 [175] where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tăka to Kreibŏwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawĕ and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowĕ-tăka, and became known as the Patanowĕ-tedi.

174 *628 721 578 726 602 [622] [583] [591] The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawĕ-tedi and Kashorawĕ-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawĕ, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawĕ-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowĕ-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowĕ-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawĕ-tedi visited Patanowĕ-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowĕ-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawĕ-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawĕ-tedi. Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowĕ-tedi and Yabitawĕ-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 726 *628 722

others. Matakuwä's group was being raided by Kayabawä's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-kähö. These raids forced Matakuwä and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-kähö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwä's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawä's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewä and Orakawä. During the fighting a young man from Karehewä's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewä moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewä's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewä to move further north. Karehewä's son, Riakowä, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowä's son, Börösöwä. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwä's group. They feared Börösöwä would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowä, split off from

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

174 195 *621 578 361 Matakuwä's group had three factions. Oroshowä, a man belonging to Matakuwä's faction, took a woman away from her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwä's village to avenge the death of Biawawä, the man killed in the feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was unable to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's group to found their own villages: Warabawä-tedi, led by Hewariwä, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwä. These last two villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time, as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Missionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 175 *621 361 [622] [699] 361 [574] *[628] [724]

174 36 922 In about 1935 Matakuwä and his group moved to Kayurewä to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.

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*[628] [1] Warabawä-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabäyoma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: Kayurewë

174 175 +628 926 861 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwë's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwë, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowë-tëka. Ruwahiwë was Matakuwë's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwë moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 +621 361 About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwë's group, the group split into two villages. One of • (622) them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwë's (101) son, Sibarariwë. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawë-tedi, led by (578) Weiamamowë. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal (721) feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

174 36 +628 922 175 Sibarariwë's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawë-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Aramamisi-tedi and the Paruritawë-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwë's group to abandon Konabuma

*628 would have been a display of weakness. They decided to
721 challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a club fight and settle their
578 grievances by that means. Ten days after Kakoma was taken from Karidimö, the Monou-tedi men arrived at Bisaasi-tedi and settled the dispute in a club fight. The Monou-tedi were thoroughly trounced by the larger number of Bisaasi-tedi, but they nevertheless demonstrated their potential and willingness to fight, thereby warning the Bisaasi-tedi that they better not attempt to seize more women in the future.

The Bisaasi-tedi clearly had taken advantage of the Monou-tedi numerical weakness and political needs to advance their own ends.

726 In the first week of March 1965 the PatanowÃ-tedi raided the Monou-tedi. They found the village site on the Mavaca River deserted, so they crossed the river and followed the trail taken by the Monou-tedi to their new garden. They [822] caught the Monou-tedi headman outside the new garden and killed him.

*628 This attack brought about an immediate rapprochement
728 between the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi. Even KąobÃwÃ, leader of one of Bisaasi-tedi's main factions, was furious over this killing. Up to this point he was still interested in making peace with the PatanowÃ-tedi, but this even temporarily changed his mind. KąobÃwÃ ultimately led the revenge
726 raid against the PatanowÃ-tedi.

[964] The Monou-tedi burned the corpse of the slain headman and sent small gourds of his ground bones to members of allied

There were, however, two recognizable factions within this group; one was led by Kąobäwä, who had many relatives in both Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi, and the other was led by Paruriwä, who had no consanguineal relatives in Patanowä-tedi, but many in Monou-tedi. Paruriwä's group was linked to Kąobäwä's by a number of marriage ties.

Kąobäwä was the acknowledged leader of the entire upper section of Bisaasi-tedi, including Paruriwä's group, although Paruriwä had some influence in the affairs of the village. After the middle of the year, Paruriwä began to emerge as leader in his own right, and began duplicating many of the activities normally the prerogative of the village headman. Thus, when Kąobäwä initiated a feast for members of an allied village, Paruriwä duplicated his efforts by sending out his own hunters to provide meat for the guests, and furnished an equal amount of cultivated food, which he disposed of from his own section of the village. Normally, the headman sends out the hunters and disposes of the cultivated food from his own house. Paruriwä, by duplicating Kąobäwä's efforts in these activities, announced that he was a headman.

The emergence of Paruriwä as an important leader was largely the result of his active prosecution of the war against the Patanowä-tedi. Kąobäwä, after he led one revenge raid against the Patanowä-tedi, decided that he wanted to remain neutral in the fighting and wanted to make peace with the Patanowä-tedi. This led to a political vacuum within

Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid from them. Paruriwë seized upon this as his opportunity to advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support of Kąobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi. As Paruriwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman (consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

Paruriwë's behavior in other respects changed after the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again, he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwë was entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field, Paruriwë and his group separated from Kąobëwë's and moved across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kąobëwë as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how much effort Paruriwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

one real headman, Kąobẅẅ. Thus, Paruriwẅ had to separate from Kąobẅẅ's group to achieve a status equal to that of Kąobẅẅ.

Im July 1965 Kąobẅẅ sent his brother-in-law, Kumamawẅ, to Patanowẅ-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend to raid the Patanowẅ-tedi in the future. When Kumamawẅ returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the Patanowẅ-tedi trusted Kąobẅẅ and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from Patanowẅ-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, Hąrokoiwẅ, Masiwẅ, and Koiyeiwẅ, arrived. Paruriwẅ's group was visiting the Widokaiya-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of Patanowẅ-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit Kąobẅẅ, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. Kąobẅẅ, however, warned Paruriwẅ and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day Paruriwẅ and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their plan. Finally, Paruriwẅ decided to desist from the murders and even participated in a news chant with one of the Patanowẅ-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized Kąobẅẅ's influence as a leader, and Paruriwẅ decided to move away from Kąobẅẅ's group after this incident. The Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three

visitors were enraged because Paruriwä failed to execute the plan, and they returned to Monou-tedi to recruit a raiding party, hoping to intercept the visitors on their way back to Patanowä-tedi.[1] Paruriwä placated the Monou-tedi by organizing a series of raids against the Patanowä-tedi, and by inviting the Monou-tedi to stay in his section of the village when they fled from their other two sites. Prior to this, the Monou-tedi had been staying with the members of the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi. By early November, the Monou-tedi had begun raiding the Patanowä-tedi with great frequency, supported by members of Paruriwä's group. Paruriwä himself sent three raiding parties against the Patanowä-tedi between November and February, all of which included men from Monou-tedi. Kaobäwä did not participate in or encourage these raids, but some of his followers took part in them.

This split was not the outcome of an internal feud. Rather, it developed out of the different political interests of two leaders, one of whom was ambitiously striving to improve his status as a headman. The other refused to prosecute the war against the Patanowä-tedi, as he had a large number of kinsmen there. The existence of these ties, however, did not preclude the war, as the Bisaasi-tedi are in fact raiding the Patanowä-tedi. The kin ties at best mitigate the intensity of the raiding. The situation is a problem for the Patanowä-tedi, as they do not want to kill the few Bisaasi-tedi friends

[1] Their plan failed, as I took the Patanowä-tedi back to their village part way in my boat, and we went the remainder of the way on a trail the Monou-tedi could not reach.

they have, but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-tedi. Now that Paruriwä and his followers have moved away from Kaobäwä's group, the Patanowä-tedi can raid Paruriwä without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Paruriwä's faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the Patanowä-tedi will force it to rejoin Kaobäwä's group. The internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this happens, as Paruriwä will be obliged to demonstrate his leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior to the separation of the two groups, and internal friction will be high.

The split within Patanowä-tedi

The incessant raiding from Hasaböwä-tedi, Kashorawä-tedi, Yabitawä-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among the Patanowä-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at any time. The Patanowä-tedi had attempted to split into three groups several years earlier, as the population had reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance. The development of the war with the Hasaböwä-tedi forced them to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the village, and the added tension brought about by the new war with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowä-tedi a month before I left the field.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

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Kąobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

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Fig. 1-4. Kaamashima, Kąobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
● [622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is
[622] concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relationships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

Upper Bisaasi-teri, and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä and Reromauwä, respectively, come from the *Sha* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Sha* lineage and one from the *Hor* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage in 1965 because the *Sha* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hor* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hor* lineage (see Table 3–1) was stronger than the *Sha* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yąnomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Bosibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Bosibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kąobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Sha* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3–5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kąobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kąobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisaasi-teri, one of Kąobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kaobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kaobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kaobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kaobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kaobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kaobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3-1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

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of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18]Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19]Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

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Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and [redacted] invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Shararaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Shararaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Shararaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

156 On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with
622 Kąobawä the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law
628 to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One
607 of the ambitious men in Kąobawä's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his
574 prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwä, was a very
721 cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobawä's position as headman. He
[123] wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobawä let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwä and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobawä and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-
[714] in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwä and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobawä nor the Patanowä-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwä approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwä's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilites.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobawä's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwä's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowä-teri. When Paruriwä failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobawä realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home,
[123] since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowä-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowä-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowä-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasaböwä-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowä-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobawä not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

156 Kąobawä keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwä, for
622 example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight
593 provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are coura-
578 geous enough to interfere with Paruriwä when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobawä was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

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duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwä, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwä's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwä went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwä recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kąobawä had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwä before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kąobawä disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

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On another occasion one of Kąobawä's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kąobawä managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kąobawä stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3–9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

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Fig. 3–9. Kąobawä (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been bashed on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.

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his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men were doing all the fighting for Kąobawä's group. These men were forced to take several turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kąobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kąobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Patanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

Kąobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostentatious, and rash. Kąobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters, whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisaasi-teri, they seek out Kąobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kąobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kąobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

Finally, one of Kąobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighborhood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kąobawä has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

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Fig. 4–1. Kaobawë, headman, unpacking some of the meat his hunters have just collected for the feast.

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undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kąobawä's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *arapuri* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kąobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[3]

The plantains that Kąobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yąnomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[4] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yąnomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kąobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yąnomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kąobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

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[3]Kąobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yąnomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[4]The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *ruuhe* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yąnomamö feast strongly with the *ruuhe* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*ruuhe*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Ruuhe* is so unnecessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yąnomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *ruuhe* fruit. *Ruuhe* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *ruuhe* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

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The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kaobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kaobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kaobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kaobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his armbands, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kaobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kaobawä's house and was met by Kaobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kaobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kaobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kaobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

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rades of the deliverer would cheer and bounce up and down from the knees, waving and clacking their weapons over their heads. The victim's supporters, meanwhile, would urge their champion on frantically, insisting that he take another blow. If the delivery were made with sufficient force to knock the recipient to the ground, the man who delivered it would throw his arms above his head, roll his eyes back, and prance victoriously in a circle around his victim, growling and screaming, his feet almost a blur from his excited dance. The recipient would stand poised and take as many as four blows before demanding to hit his adversary. He would be permitted to strike his opponent as many times as the latter struck him, provided that the opponent could take it. If not, he would be forced to retire, much to the dismay of his comrades and the delirious joy of their opponents. No fighter could retire after delivering a blow. If he attempted to do so, his adversary would plunge into the crowd and roughly haul him back out, sometimes being aided by the man's own supporters. Only after having received his just dues could he retire. If he had delivered three blows, he had to receive three or else be proven a poor fighter. He could retire with less than three only if he were injured. Then, one of his comrades would replace him and demand to hit the victorious opponent. The injured man's two remaining blows would be canceled, and the man who delivered the victorious blow would have to receive more blows than he delivered. Thus, good fighters are at a disadvantage, since they receive disproportionately more punishment than they deliver. Their only reward is status: they earn the reputation of being fierce.

Some of the younger men in Kąobawä's group were reluctant to participate in the fighting because they were afraid of being injured. This put more strain on the others, who were forced to take extra turns in order to preserve the group's reputation. At one point Kąobawä's men, sore from the punishment they had taken and worried that they would ultimately lose the fight, wanted to escalate the contest to an axe duel (see Fig. 4–3). Kąobawä was vigorously opposed to this, as he knew it would lead to bloodshed. He therefore recruited the younger men into the fighting, as well as a few of the older ones who had done nothing but demand the others to step into the arena, thereby reducing the strain on those who wanted to escalate the level of violence. A few of the younger men retired after a single blow, privately admitting to me later that they pretended to be injured to avoid being forced to fight more. The fighting continued in this fashion for nearly three hours, tempers growing hotter and hotter. Kąobawä and the headman from the other group stood by with their weapons, attempting to keep the fighting innocuous, but not participating in it. Some of the fighters went through several turns of three or four blows each, their pectoral muscles swollen and red from the number of blows each had received. The fight had still not been decided, although Kąobawä's group seemed to be getting the worst of it. They then insisted on escalating the fighting to side slapping, partly because their chests were too sore to continue in that fashion, and partly because their opponents seemed to have an edge on them.

The side slapping duel is nearly identical in form to chest pounding, except that the blow is delivered with an open hand across the flanks of the opponent, between his rib-cage and pelvis bone. It is a little more severe than chest pounding because casualties are more frequent and tempers grow hotter more rapidly when a group's champion falls to the ground, gasping for wind, and faints. The side slapping only lasted fifteen minutes or so; one of the more influential men in Kąobawä's group was knocked unconscious, enraging the others. The fighting continued for just a few minutes after this, but during

164 302 Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the [622] village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given [684] back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

[602] The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there * [628] was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri [721] because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

578 411 Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

411 531 The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

*628 578 721 593 The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *unisiwi* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody

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One of Damowī's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowā-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowā-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowī's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowī outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewī, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowī, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kaobawī and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowī's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowī were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowā-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowī the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowī's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kaobawī, a classificatory brother to Damowī, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowī's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwā, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Shi* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kaobawī delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2] See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-3 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

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and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowa. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5–3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kąobawë to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *wayu itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowä-teri. Kąobawë had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *wayu itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location